

SOCIALIZING WITH GODS IN THE MONGGHUL BOG RITUAL

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ABSTRACT

This article introduces a communal ritual, known as Bog, as practiced among the Mongghul, a linguistically and culturally distinct group of people of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. The main activity of the Bog ritual involves deities and ancestral souls being invited to a sumptuous "banquet" where religious practitioners, called *fashi*, chant scriptures, sing, dance, joke, and burn incense to delight the "guests." This essay provides a thick description of the ritual. To provide context for this description, we introduce the community on which our description focuses, and also discuss the role of *fashi*. A chronological account of the ritual follows that includes not only descriptions of the ritual activities, but also interpretations of the meaning of these events from the perspective of the ritual practitioners. We also provide an analysis of the performances given during the ritual and how they contribute to creating a spectacle that delights both human and non-human participants.

KEYWORDS

fashi, Mongghul (Monguor, Tu), ritual, shaman, Shenjiao

INTRODUCTION¹

This article introduces a communal ritual, known as Bog, as practiced among the Mongghul, a linguistically and culturally distinct group of people of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. The Mongghul are officially classified by the Chinese government as belonging to the Tu (Monguor) nationality, and are referred to as Monguor in English-language literature (Schram 2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]). We avoid the use of the term Tu because of its derogatory connotations (Roche 2011). The term Mongghul (Limusishiden and Jugui 2011, Limusishiden and Dede 2012, Limusishiden, Ha, and Stuart 2013), moreover, is used to refer to a specific sub-population of the Tu/Monguor that is historically, linguistically, and culturally distinct from other populations classified as Tu. Speaking a Mongolic language (Georg 2003), the Mongghul traditionally considered themselves as residents of the Duluun Lunkuang 'the Seven Valleys', a loosely unified territorial polity on the northeast Tibetan Plateau formerly centered on a Tibetan Buddhist monastery known as Rgulang Monastery.² Mongghul see no contradiction in practicing Tibetan Buddhism while also venerating a variety of patron deities not otherwise widespread in the Tibetan Buddhist world, including the Dragon King (Longwang) deities, the Mother Goddess of Children (Nengneng), and Black Tiger (Heihuye). These deities are enshrined in *muyiu* 'communal temples',³ and, as explained below, are tended to

¹ This paper is based on a presentation given at the Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Ulaanbaator in 2013 on a panel organized by Geoffrey Samuel, entitled Tibetan and Mongolian Ritual Dance. We thank participants and attendees for their feedback, as well as feedback from two anonymous referees. Any remaining errors or omissions are our own.

² See Sullivan (2013) for more on this monastery. The Mongghul name for the monastery, Rgulang, is derived from the Tibetan name, Dgon lung dgon pa. Local Han Chinese call it Youning Si.

³ The term *muyiu* is derived from the Chinese term *miao*. Throughout the text, we provide most terms in Mongghul pinyin (see Limusishiden and Dede 2012, Shoji 2003) and provide Chinese and Tibetan equivalents where possible in a list of non-English terms at the end of the article.

by religious specialists that we refer to as *fashi*.

Schram's work (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]) provides us with the most detailed English-language account of the ritual. This missionary-ethnographer observed the ritual, which he calls "the rites of spring," in the early twentieth century. His description contains several moments of unusual clarity considering the more than two decades that interceded between observing the ritual and publishing the book, but is hampered by the author's speculations on such topics as "archaic shamanic elements" and "human sacrifice." Similarly, the description of the ritual by Schröder (1952/3),⁴ another missionary-ethnographer, contains some unfortunate misunderstandings, most likely arising from the biases inherent in his position:

The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again... They carry the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten...

As shall be seen below, children are not, nor most likely were they ever, killed as part of the Bog ritual. Schröder (1942/5) contains another, longer description of the Bog ritual.⁵ This account is, however, based on a single interview with one elderly male consultant, was not verified by observation, and therefore lacks both detail and veracity. A final useful source on the ritual are Zhuang Xueben's photographs of Bog, taken in the 1930s (Zhuang 2009).

The Bog ritual is called Bangbang by local Han Chinese in the

⁴ This and the quote from Schröder are taken from the 1962 translation of his original German publication, available through the Human Relations Area Files, which does not contain page numbers.

⁵ Many thanks to Bianca Horlemann for alerting us to this source.

Seven Valleys, a name derived from the sound of drums being beaten by *fashi* during the ritual. The main activity of the ritual involves all deities and ancestral souls being invited to a sumptuous "banquet" where *fashi* chant scriptures, sing, dance, joke, and burn incense to delight the "guests." *Fashi* invite deities from three religious traditions: Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao 'the way of the deities'. Villagers light incense and kowtow to the deities and in doing so, hope to ensure peace and prosperity for themselves and the entire community in the coming year. The Bog ritual thus fits within a localized ritual complex that includes the Nadun and Laru festivals,⁶ celebrated by Tibetans, Mangghuer,⁷ and Han Chinese in nearby areas of the northeast Tibetan Plateau. More broadly still, the Bog ritual is similar to other "temple fairs" throughout China and the Sinic world (Chau 2006, Cooper 2013, Dean 1998, Dean and Zheng 2009a, 2009b, Guo 2005, Johnson 2009, Overmeyer 2009, Ward 1979, Weiller 1994, Zhao and Bell 2007). Meanwhile, we may also note that the ritual bears many similarities to Mongolian rituals in which spirit guests are invited to a banquet, offered treats of food, drink, and sometimes tobacco, for the purpose of facilitating communication between living humans and both non-living humans and other spirits. Although the many similarities between this ritual and others in the region provide ample grounds for fruitful comparison, we focus primarily on providing ethnographic details based on our case study, and avoid making broad generalizations beyond our data.

The Bog ritual provides an opportunity for villagers to host, encounter, and spend time with deities and ancestral spirits. It is based as much on *socializing with* deities as worshipping them. Throughout the Bog ritual, and in everyday life more generally,

⁶ For more on Nadun see Roche (2011) and Stuart and Hu (1993). For more on Laru see Stuart et al. (1995); Dpal ldan bkra shis and Stuart (1998); Buffetrille (2008); and Snying bo rgyal and Rino (2009).

⁷ The Mangghuer, along with the Mongghul, are classified as Tu (Monguor). Their distinct language is unintelligible to Mongghul, and they also practice somewhat different, but related, cultural forms to the Mongghul. For more on the Mangghuer see Roche (2011).

divinatory and other practices allow Mongghul people to interact with deities, and vice versa. Questions may be put to deities, and yes/ no (or other binary) answers are given through the use of divination blocks, or other signals from the deities, such as a pole embodying the deity moving in a certain direction.⁸ Throughout this article, we treat the deities as active participants and agents in the ritual who make decisions, provide guidance, and take part in determining the course of events.

Following, we begin by introducing our case study site, Yomajaa Village, focusing on the village temple, its deities, and village attendants. We then provide background on the role of *fashi*, and give an account from Ma Ankui (b. 1964), Yomajaa's *fashi*, of his role and its history. A detailed ethnographic description of the ritual process is then provided.

This paper is based on research carried out by Limusishiden, who observed Yomajaa Bog on the third day of the third lunar month in 2013. The ritual was filmed by Ban+de mkhar, and photographs were taken by Jugui. Yomajaa's *fashi*, Ma Ankui, also generously donated his time for an extensive interview with Limusishiden and Roche, as well as numerous follow-up inquiries. In addition to this focused research on Yomajaa Bog, Limusishiden also visited Bog rituals in four other villages over a span of twenty years, and relied on his own experience and knowledge as a Mongghul from the Seven Valleys.

YOMAJAA VILLAGE

Yomajaa Village is located in Donggou Township, approximately five kilometers from Weiyuan Town, the seat of Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County (Qinghai Province). Yomajaa is a large community consisting of four discrete hamlets - Majaa, Yojaa, Chinjaa, and

⁸ See Limusishiden and Stuart (1994), Ha and Stuart (2008), Roche (2011), and Limusishiden et al. (2013) for divinatory practices in the context of local Shenjiao.

Huuwan - and in 2013 had a total of 1,600 residents in 270 households. Among them, Huuwan residents were Han Chinese, while others were all Mongghul.

The village temple, which serves all four hamlets, and is the site of the local Bog ritual, is located in a grove of trees on the southern outskirts of the village. It is built in a Han Chinese style, whereas village temples elsewhere in the Seven Valleys typically resemble Tibetan Buddhist temples. The deities inside the temple are referred to as Longwang (Dragon King - Chilebsang in Mongghul). There were originally five dragon kings in the temple - black, yellow, blue, white, and crimson⁹ - but the white and crimson dragons were stolen by villagers from nearby Naja Village,¹⁰ and are now enshrined in the village temple there. Each of the three deities in Yomajaa Temple has their own sedan and a pole, while the black and blue dragons also have spears.¹¹ The sedans, poles, and spears may all be used as mediums through which villagers may interact with deities.

The temple complex contains twelve rooms surrounded by an adobe wall. The main hall of the temple is located on the south side of the complex and houses the dragon king deities, while the hall on the western side of the complex (the *mawangdian*) houses the Horse King deity¹² (Mazuye). The front gate of the temple is located on the northern side of the complex. A road passes the temple complex's south and west sides, and a large cairn¹³ is located beside the road to the west. This cairn is said to have originally been constructed together with the temple. A river flows from east to west in front of the temple.

A *guangnii* 'caretaker' manages the temple. The position is

⁹ Chinese - *zao*.

¹⁰ In Weiyuan Town.

¹¹ The sedans contain no statues of the deities, unlike the case of Shenjiao among the Mangghuer (Roche 2011, Roche and Wen 2013).

¹² This deity is considered the ancestor and protector of all livestock, and is enshrined as a *tangka* - an image painted on cloth.

¹³ The cairn is known as a *lasizi* - a square stone with a hollow base, rimmed by a low wooden railing. Numerous poles resembling arrows and spears are thrust into the *lasizi*. They are consecrated to heaven and various deities.

rotated annually, and is typically filled by a man in his fifties or older. The caretaker lights incense and lamps for the deities in the temple and guards the temple at night. He also helps villagers who come to seek guidance from the enshrined deities, and generally maintains the temple complex. Also associated with the temple are thirteen *tiruuqi* or *guwa* 'green crops officers,' men twenty to eighty years of age.¹⁴ The green crops officers ensure the protection of village crops through ritual means, particularly by preventing hail. Their duties include visiting nearby mountaintops,¹⁵ burning juniper, and prostrating to all the deities and Tingere 'Heaven'; collecting rapeseed oil, flour, pork, and money from village households as a fee for Tibetan Buddhist monks who are invited to chant scriptures to ensure safety for village crops; and consulting with the temple caretaker and deities to perform other rituals necessary for the protection of the crops. They also play an important role in the Bog ritual throughout its process, in consultation with the temple caretaker and deities, including organization, coordination between ritual participants, and participating in the ritual process as required (see below).

FASHI - THE BOG RITUAL SPECIALIST

Fashi is the term for this ritual specialist in the local Han Chinese dialect. Local Mongghul use this term, but they also employ the Mongghul word *bog*, which is derived from the written Mongol term for "shaman," *böge* (modern Mongolian *böö*). Since the term *bog* is identical to the name of the ritual, we use *fashi* for clarity's sake. Roche and Wen (2013) provide further details on these religious

¹⁴ The temple caretaker and green crops officers are replaced each year at an annual meeting called Lazii that is held in the temple. The temple deities communicate through the pole or sedan and choose these community representatives.

¹⁵ The specific peaks they visit and how often vary yearly according to a schedule determined by the temple deities during the annual Lazii - see above.

practitioners in the nearby Mangghuer community of the Three Valleys.¹⁶ Potanin (2015 [1893]) provides the first Western-language description of *fashi*, in the context of the Mangghuer of the Three Valleys, providing a detailed description of a ritual, based on a single observation in the winter of 1884-1885. He mistakenly refers to them as *yinyang* (in the local context, *yinyang* are household Daoist tantrins). Schram also provides details about *fashi*, who he calls shamans, and describes as follows (2006 [1954, 1957, 1961]:309):

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

The term *fashi*, in a broader Chinese context, is typically associated with Daoism (Kohn 2000). Folk Daoists in northern China apparently use the term *fashi* to refer to certain religious practitioners (Jones 2010), but these are different from the *fashi* of the northeast Tibetan Plateau.

The *fashi*'s main role is to mediate between humans on one hand, and, on the other, deities, the souls of the deceased, and ghosts.¹⁷

¹⁶ In the Three Valleys, the term *fashi* is pronounced *huashi*.

¹⁷ Ghosts are distinguished from the souls of the deceased in that ghosts are malevolent while ancestral spirits are typically benevolent. A person

Their mediation typically takes the form of sensorial spectacles - chanting, dancing, and beating drums - intended to delight deities and ancestral spirits.¹⁸ The costume of the *fashi* typically includes a long, sleeveless red tunic that hangs to below the knees and is slit into several sections below the waist, so that this "skirt" flairs as the *fashi* dance. Their drum is a single-skinned frame drum with an iron frame and handle. The base of the handle forms a two-lobed loop on which several metal rings or discs are strung, forming a tambourine that produces a sound that Potanin (2015:164) described as "a tragic whispering, translated into the language of iron rattles." The drum is held in one hand and beaten with a stick held in the other hand. During performances, *fashi* frequently heat their drums over flames to obtain a taut, resonant sound from the instrument.

Only men are *fashi*. The role is passed from father to son, and if a *fashi* has no sons, he chooses a successor among his brothers' sons, because a lineage that fails to produce a *fashi* is thought to become beset with disasters. As described in the account below, the *fashi* lineage in Yomajaa was fixed in perpetuity by the village's Dragon King deities.

Fashi are organized into discrete but unnamed troupes, consisting of a *wanshan* 'leader' and his students, who are the *wanshan*'s sons and nephews. Ma Ankui is presently the *wanshan* of his troupe who, along with his ancestors are well-known throughout the Seven Valleys as *hgai bog* 'the swine *fashi*' since one of the previous *fashi* in the troupe was thought to have moved clumsily in a "swinish" manner. On 22 April, 2013, Limusishiden visited Ma Ankui at his home in Yomajaa. Ma Ankui gave the following account of his lineage's history:

My family genealogy shows that our ancestors were Muslims who

typically becomes a ghost rather than an ancestor if they die a violent, unnatural death, especially in their youth.

¹⁸ However, they use a variety of aggressive methods to mediate between humans and ghosts. See Roche and Wen (2013) and Borretz (2010) on the role of violence in Shenjiao.

came here from Nanjing Municipality a long time ago, though no one knows how many generations ago they came here. I remember seeing our Muslim ancestors' graveyards in our village when I was very young. However, the tombs were later leveled by the village administration.

It is said that my ancestors built a small mosque in our village, but it was converted to a temple for Shenjiao when our ancestors renounced Islam. About the time of my grandfather's grandfather, my ancestors abandoned their Islamic faith, due to widespread violent animosity against Muslims, in retaliation against the Muslim rebellions of that time.¹⁹ So, those ancestors became Han, but shortly after, they became Mongghul, since most people in our village and surrounding areas were Mongghul. However we are now Mongghul. We speak Mongghul and our customs are Mongghul, except that we bury our deceased in coffins as local Han do, but unlike Mongghul, who cremate their dead.

Some time in the past, my lineage was facing difficulties, and so my ancestors went to Yomajaa Temple to ask for help from the temple's dragon king deities. They told our family to enshrine the Goddess of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian Shengmu) and the Black Tiger God and meanwhile, our family members should become *fashi* and perform the Yomajaa Bog.²⁰ So, since then, our ancestors have been *fashi*. However, in my grandfather's time, Bog was suppressed for about twenty years, but after that, Bog was performed again.²¹

¹⁹ This enables the events to be approximately situated in the second half of the nineteenth century, during which two large Muslim "rebellions" took place: one from 1862-1875 and another in 1895-1896 (Lipman 1998). Ma Ankui's ancestors most likely converted some time during the first Muslim "rebellion."

²⁰ It is not known if there were Bog performances in Yomajaa before Ma Ankui's ancestors became *fashi*.

²¹ This refers to the suppression of all traditional practices between 1958 and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 (Roche and Wen 2013).

Figure 1. Ma Ankui in the ritual attire of a *fashi* leader, or *wanshan* (photograph supplied by Ma Ankui).



THE BOG RITUAL

The Yomajaa Bog is held annually from the first to the fourth days of the third lunar month, focusing primarily on the third day. All Bog rituals are typically three days long.²²

The First Day - Preparing the Site

On the first day of the third lunar month, the temple caretaker cleans the temple complex. The *fashi* are invited by the temple caretaker and the green crops officers to the temple, where they spend the day

²² See Appendix One for dates and locations of all currently known Bog rituals.

cutting and printing papers that will be used throughout the ritual. All papers are called *fan*, but there are two main types. The first are rectangular banners that are hung on the walls of the main hall, above the front gate, and on the walls of the temple courtyard. These are cut with intricate designs depicting deer, dragons, lions, vases, lotuses, and other things. These papers decorate the temple with bright colors and delicate, intricate forms, creating a sensory environment that delights human and non-human ritual participants.

The second type of *fan* are long thin banners that are typically painted with symmetrical geometrical patterns and are cut more sparsely with relatively simple designs. Each of the long paper banners is offered by a village household on the third day of the ritual, as votive offerings to the deity that represent that family's wishes for the coming year.

Figure 2. Deer patterned papers pasted on the wall in Yomajaa Bog (Jugui, Yomajaa Bog, 12 April 2013).



Figure 3. The three sedaned dragon king deities are placed on a long table. Behind them are the long *fan* that have been offered by each household (Jugui, Yomajaa Bog, 12 April 2013).



The Second Day - Small Bog

The second day of the third lunar month is regarded as the Mula 'Small' Bog. Early in the morning at a time selected by the dragon kings, some villagers and the green crops officers erect an eleven meter tall pole in the temple yard center, while all *fashi* stand before the dragon kings inside the main hall, beating drums while chanting. The main focus of the chanting at this time is the dedication of offerings of incense and lamps to the dragon kings.

The pole that is raised at this time plays an important role in the Bog ritual. It is locally referred to as *fan* (as are the papers). Three poles are joined together to reach this height.²³ The pole is considered a bridge along which deities travel from the heavens to join the Bog ritual in the temple. The bottom sixty centimeters of the

²³ The three poles are stored in the temple throughout the year.

pole represents the King of Hell (Xnjiri Rjawuu, the Chain King) who is also invited to attend.

Nine small triangular banners made of red paper are attached atop the pole, representing the deity Jiutian Shengmu. Under the nine banners is a ring edged with colorful papers, representing Nantianmen the 'South Sky Gate' through which all deities pass on their way from the heavens to the temple. Above the South Sky Gate, a two-pronged wooden fork is attached to the pole, and two steamed buns are impaled on the two prongs. Villagers who have been unable to conceive will try to obtain those buns when the pole is lowered at the ritual's end. A hemp rope is tied from the top of the pole to the main column of the temple's main hall. After entering through the South Sky Gate, all deities travel along this rope and will later also depart along it. Three small banners are attached to the rope near where it joins the pole. The top one represents Buddhism, the middle one Daoism, and the lower one Shenjiao.²⁴

A long table is placed at the base of the pole and the sedaned dragon kings are put on it. A square table is put before the long table and used to display such offerings as steamed buns, butter lamps, incense sticks, strings of cloth and, later, a dead pig. After the pole is erected, all *fashi* are invited to have breakfast at a village household previously appointed by the temple deities. After breakfast, the *fashi* return to the temple to perform Qingshenjing 'Invitation of the Deities'.²⁵ They beat their drums and chant Sanjiaojing 'Scripture of the Three Religions' (Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao), which briefly introduces each of these religions: first Buddhism, then Daoism, and finally Shenjiao. They summon each of the multitudinous gods by name, and invite them to join a banquet in the main hall of the temple. According to Ma Ankui, the main content of the chanting is:

²⁴ See Sárközy (1996) for more on the use of ropes in Mongolian shamanic rituals.

²⁵ In this sense, the Bog ritual conforms to the basic pattern described by Overmeyer (2009) in his work on north China folk religion of inviting, entertaining, and seeing off deities.

Figure 4. The erected *fan*. The deities descend onto the top of the pole, and enter the temple via the rope. The paper banners (top to bottom) represent Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenjiao (Jugui, Yomajaa, 12 April 2013).



We have lit incense sticks on twelve large incense burners and twelve small burners. We have opened all the doors for you. Thousands of people are lighting incense sticks and hundreds of thousands of people are now making prostrations to you. So please, all of you, come down and sit on your thrones...

This chanting lasts about forty minutes. The invitation of the deities is then concluded and the *fashi* rest.

After resting, the *fashi*, dragon kings, the temple caretaker, thirteen green crops officers, and selected village men, go to a household that will offer a pig to the deities during the ritual. The elected household has a member that will become a new green crops officer in the coming year, and a family member has previously slaughtered the pig and removed its organs. When they all reach the household, the *fashi* chant scriptures and beat drums, while the green crops officers and village men light incense and prostrate to the four directions in the courtyard. After the *fashi* finish chanting, the whole slaughtered pig is covered with a cloth so that it will not get dirty while it is transported to the temple in a cart. At the temple, the swine is then put in front of the sedaned dragon kings, with its head facing the main hall. The internal organs are boiled at the household and carried to the temple, where they are displayed on a stick in the following order from distal to proximal: heart, lung, liver, two kidneys, one loop of intestines, and the breast bone. This stick is laid on the table next to the pig. Offering the organs in this way indicates that the entire animal is being offered.

After the pig has been brought to the temple, the *fashi* chant "Scripture of the Three Religions" and beat drums in the courtyard, while facing the main hall where all the invited gods are thought to be sitting. They also chant to offer the pig to the deities and to encourage them to enjoy the banquet that has been prepared. This rite takes about half an hour, and then the *fashi* eat lunch at the home of a designated villager.

At about three PM, the *fashi* conduct a rite to invite Xishen Niangniang 'Happy Goddess', who must be invited separately from

the other deities.²⁶ The temple caretaker's head is bound with a piece of red cloth and a model bow and arrow is put on his back. He holds a box filled with wheat seeds into which a *xishenqi* 'happy goddess flag' made of colorful paper is inserted.²⁷ Then the temple caretaker, all *fashi*, the two dragon kings, the green crops officers, and some village men go outside the temple courtyard. The sedaned dragon kings indicate the direction in which Happy Goddess is on that day, or the *fashi* may calculate the direction using a finger-counting prognostication. Once the direction has been determined, the temple caretaker is asked by the *fashi* to kneel and face that direction. The sedaned dragon kings, *fashi*, and all other people face in that direction, and the *fashi* once again chant and beat drums. Ma Ankui summarized the content of the chanting:

Now we know where you, dear Happy Goddess, are located. The dragon kings have personally come out to receive you. Please come to our temple and join the other gods for a banquet now...

The chanting lasts about half an hour. The temple caretaker then returns to the temple with the *fashi*, two sedaned dragon kings, and other participants following. After they enter the temple courtyard, Happy Goddess has been successfully invited. The *fashi* scatter wheat seeds in the courtyard leading to the main hall, signifying the propitious presence of Happy Goddess who is invited to sit in the seat of honor, beside the dragon kings inside the main hall. The *wanshan* then says some auspicious words, for example (Ma Ankui):

Gold and silver have come; wheat seeds and canola oil have come; children and grandchildren have come; everything we could want has come with dear Happy Goddess...

Once this is done, the *fashi* ask the temple caretaker to say

²⁶ We were unable to ascertain why this deity is invited separately.

²⁷ The flag is typically triangular and red.

some propitious words. With comic aggression, they smear a little butter on the temple caretaker's forehead, stuff roasted highland barley flour in his mouth, and repeatedly raise a bowl of liquor to his lips, forcefully encouraging him to eat and drink his fill, in order to thank him for successfully bringing Happy Goddess to the banquet. The temple caretaker then says some propitious words, for example (Ma Ankui):

Here I, on behalf of Happy Goddess, acknowledge you all. We are sure a bumper harvest will come to the Seven Valleys this year. I will protect crops from hailstones and wind; all villagers will be safe from illness and all their hopes will be fulfilled...

It is now about five PM and the *fashi* are invited to have supper in a designated home.

At about eight PM, the *fashi* return to the temple to invite villagers' ancestral souls to the Bog. It is already dark outside. Green crops officers light a fire just in front of the temple courtyard gate, where two *fashi* perform, while villagers kneel, kowtow, and burn yellow votive papers for ancestral souls. At this time, the main content of the *fashi's* chanting is (Ma Ankui):

Souls please come! Souls please come! Please walk to the gate of the temple. Guardians of the temple,²⁸ please ask all the souls to enter the front gate. All souls, please make prostrations to the pole first and then make prostrations to the deities who have already arrived. Please then take your seats outside the main hall of the temple. Please sit in your arranged seats. Elders, please sit in the important seats, and those who are younger, please sit in the places that have been arranged for you.²⁹

²⁸ Temples in the Seven Valleys are thought to have two guardian deities that stand sentry at the gate of the temple complex. Some temples actually have these deities painted in the portico, but most do not.

²⁹ Ancestral souls abide by the social norms of the living, with those of senior generations being offered superior seating to those of younger

The seating area for ancestral souls is in the temple courtyard, rather than inside the main temple hall where the deities are seated. A table is placed against one sidewall outside the main hall. Steamed white buns and lit butter lamps are put on the table. A metal basin is placed in front of the table, and people use this when they burn yellow votive papers and kowtow during the ritual (just as they do during funerals).³⁰

All the non-human guests for the Bog have now assembled. The dragon kings sit in the seat of honor, in the middle of the main hall of the temple. Happy Goddess sits beside them, and they are flanked by a multitude of other deities, including the King of Hell. Offerings of brightly burning incense and butter lamps, beautiful colorful paper flags, silk, and flowers, and fragrant steamed buns, pork, fruit, grain, and alcohol are all set before them. The souls of all deceased villagers, arranged in age rank, wait outside the temple. Offerings of white steamed buns and burning butter lamps have been placed before them. Preliminary entertainment has been offered, and thanks given for the attendance of esteemed guests. The scene is set for a magnificent banquet, and only one final detail remains to be arranged.

Evening of the Second Night - Catching Spirits

In order to both empower and delight the guests of honor, the temple's dragon kings, the rite of Chubing Shoubing³¹ 'Catching Spirits' is performed. The *fashi*, the dragon kings, the temple officer, the green crops officers, and selected village men perform this rite

generations. "Elders" and "those who are younger" should be considered in terms of relative generation, not in absolute terms.

³⁰ People may burn papers and kowtow to ancestral spirits at any point during Bog, after the ancestors have been invited on the second night.

³¹ *Chubing shoubing* literally 'disperse and bring back soldiers', with "soldiers" being *fashi* who go out to catch spirits and then return.

secretly. This is because, although the intention is to capture ghosts to sacrifice to the deities, the wandering, disembodied spirit of a living person may be accidentally caught, which may lead to their illness or even death. Therefore, preparations are made in secret, and the rite is carried out under the cover of darkness. Elder villagers stated that the rite was historically conducted in wild places far from the village, such as on mountain passes or near springs, to where villagers and *fashi* rode on horseback.

The rite of catching spirits is held in conjunction with Bog once every three years. The *wanshan* and dragon kings direct the participants who, without any forewarning, are suddenly summoned to the temple at a time previously determined by the dragon kings. When all participants have gathered at the temple gate, they separate into two groups according to arrangements made by the dragon kings. The two groups then set off rapidly in directions determined by the dragon kings.

The observation below is based on Limusishiden's observations of one such group during the 2013 Yomajaa Bog:

The Dragon King led,³² followed by three *fashi*, several green crops officers who carried various ritual paraphernalia, and me. The Dragon King repeatedly rushed forward, paused briefly, turned, lurched, and sped off in another direction. Following the deity, we hurried to the woods behind the temple. Everyone was silent. The *fashi* asked the deity where the spirits should be caught. The deity moved back and forth repeatedly, and then suddenly stood still, signifying that a site for catching spirits had been chosen. One of the *fashi* asked a green crops officer to bring nine incense sticks. He made a pile of straw and lit it, about twenty meters away from the *fashi*. He lit nine incense sticks from the fire and handed them to the *fashi*, who knelt on the ground facing south. The deity stood just behind the *fashi*.

³² In this case, it was in its form as a pole. Two men carried the pole, held horizontally across their shoulders.

The *fashi* inserted the nine incense sticks into an open bottle that was then placed in the wooden box. The *fashi* then asked a man to scatter jujubes and candies in the four directions, in order to lure wandering spirits, and the man did so. The *fashi* stood up and began circling the bottle slowly, murmuring incantations,³³ and waving a paper banner. He walked clockwise at first, and then suddenly changed to a counterclockwise direction. He changed directions again twice. Sometimes, he paused briefly. This continued for about ten minutes.

At this tense juncture, the lead *fashi* from the other group arrived, announcing that they had caught a spirit. He also advised, "Please, other *fashi*, beat your drums quickly." Then, the three *fashi* began beating their drums and chanting while the *fashi* who had just arrived cracked a hemp whip in the air, to further frighten the wandering spirits. The three *fashi* beating drums walked closer to the bottle. At this point, one *fashi* called for the rooster's neck to be broken. After this was done, the rooster lay twitching on the ground where it was thrown. The three *fashi* circled the bottle, beating drums while repeatedly extending and then retracting their arms. Having enticed wandering spirits with the jujubes and candies, the loud and aggressive drum beating, the searing crack of the hemp whip, and the violent, efficacious curses eventually forced a spirit into the bottle.

The three *fashi* suddenly called out, "Ah!" in unison, and then pounced towards the bottle, which toppled over. One of the *fashi* immediately blocked the mouth with a Qing Dynasty coin, over which a red cloth was placed, which was then secured by tying a hemp thread around the neck of the bottle.³⁴

³³ The specific content of the chants is secret, but Ma Ankui explained that basically, these incantations used forceful language to threaten the wandering spirits to enter the bottle.

³⁴ A coin from the imperial period is considered efficacious in suppressing wandering spirits and other evils because such beings find these coins

One *fashi* then carried the bottle into the temple and placed it at the feet of the dragon kings inside the temple's main hall. It was then covered with two wooden boxes until, on the following night, the spirits were transferred into the dragon kings by the *fashi*, prior to the conclusion of the Bog ritual. The dragon kings thus empowered and energized by the spirits, were now more efficacious in helping villagers.

After placing the captured spirits in the temple, all participants returned home ready for the grand banquet the following day.

The Third Day

The third and main day of the Yomajaa Bog is attended by most villagers and many residents of nearby villages who wear their best clothes. Numerous peddlers come to do business: some sell packaged food and drink, others set up food carts and temporary restaurants, while still others sell toys and other novelties. When not observing the ritual, revelers sit in the woods surrounding the temple and drink, eat, sing, dance, talk, and joke, creating a lively, bustling atmosphere rarely seen throughout the year in Yomajaa.

To begin the day, starting at about eight AM, each village household sends a representative to hang a colored paper banner on the pole in the temple courtyard. These votive offerings are presented to the dragon kings and all assembled deities as gifts to delight them and as tokens of the hopes and dreams of the household in the coming year. For example, if a couple is childless, they may wish to have a child in the future; certain families may wish a sick family member to recover; and others may wish to have a bumper harvest, or for their child to pass an entrance examination. As villagers arrive and hang their paper offerings, the *fashi* perform to delight all the deities, and thus better ensure that villagers' hopes are fulfilled. This

unbearably heavy.

takes about an hour, and then the *fashi* eat breakfast in a designated village home.

After breakfast, a three-course banquet for the assembled deities begins. During the first course, the *fashi* kneel on the floor of the main hall, beating drums and chanting scriptures that describe the lighting and offering of incense and lamps for the deities. The caretaker and the green crops officers light butter lamps both inside the main hall and on the table in front of the dragon kings in the temple courtyard. Village participants light butter lamps, burn yellow papers, and prostrate to all the deities and ancestral souls that have gathered. After about twenty minutes, this first course of the banquet is concluded.

For the second course, the *fashi* ask for ten large bowls from the temple caretaker. Each is filled with several handfuls of wheat seeds, a flower (any kind), incense sticks, a butter lamp, clean water, a piece of fruit, a piece of steamed bun, a small piece of gold or silver, a string of prayer beads, and a *kadog*.³⁵ These are put on the tables inside the main hall. The *fashi* then chant scriptures with four different melodies³⁶ and beat their drums with four different rhythms while facing the dragon kings inside the main hall.

Ten boys are then invited into the main hall and each is asked to hold one of the bowls. After singing for about half an hour, the *fashi* take those bowls and walk out of the main hall toward the dragon kings in the courtyard. The *fashi* present the ten bowls on the long table before the dragon kings. They then beat their drums and chant scriptures again, after which the ten boys pick up the bowls from the table. Although the chant rhythm and melody differs from what was chanted inside the temple, the content is basically the same.

The *fashi* chant scriptures and beat their drums while circling the sedaned dragon kings. The ten boys follow, holding the bowls. They walk to the main hall, other small halls, to the four corners of the temple complex, and then the front gate.³⁷ In doing this, they

³⁵ A blue or yellow silk cloth, offered to esteemed persons and to deities.

³⁶ The melodies have no names.

³⁷ There is no certain order in which to visit the different parts of the

symbolically acknowledge the entire space within the temple complex and offer the substances in the bowls to the multitude of deities and souls gathered there, thus ensuring that each of the non-human guests is delighted by this second course of the grand banquet. This rite takes about an hour.

The third course of the banquet involves the *fashi* describing the pole that has been erected in the courtyard. While chanting and beating their drums, the *fashi* elaborately describe the different parts of the pole, what they are made from, how they are made, and so on. This third course of the banquet takes about an hour, after which the banquet is considered complete, and the *fashi* rest.

Next, the Liangdan 'Scattering Grain and Egg Rite' is performed. Having been delighted with an extravagant banquet, attentive service, and ornate chanting, the non-human guests now reciprocate by bestowing their blessings on the people. Halfway down the rope connecting the pole to the main hall of the temple is a paper package. It contains a rich mixture of treats: jujubes, candies, walnuts, wheat seeds, coins, paper money, wheat flour dough, and other items.³⁸ The contents of this bundle have been empowered by all the deities, and thus is generally efficacious in avoiding misfortune and ensuring peace and prosperity, especially in protecting children from sickness. During the day, fathers take their sons under the bundle so that the blessings accumulated in the bundle may descend on the boy.

A teeming crowd of villagers gathers in the temple courtyard for Liangdan. The *fashi* stand on the temple porch. As they chant and beat their drums, one swings the rope, signifying the exhilaration of the gathered deities. Eventually, the paper package falls from the rope, and its contents scatter in all directions on the ground. Villagers scramble for these items as one of the *fashi* tosses candies, jujubes, and so on into the seething crowd. Villagers consider the items they grab to be tokens of good luck and protection.

In total, this rite takes about an hour, and it is then time for

temple, so long as all parts of the complex are visited.

³⁸ This package was placed there that morning by one of the *fashi*, while villagers were hanging their household papers.

the *fashi* to have lunch.

The Third Day - Dances

After lunch, the *fashi* reassemble in the temple courtyard, ready to begin a series of danced performances intended to delight all the human and non-human guests. Crowds gather to watch and enjoy these performances. The *fashi* heighten the spectacular nature of the performances by manipulating several elements across a variety of sensory registers. We describe each of these elements: volume, motion and color, embodied technique, coordination and synchronization, and humor. A short film, showing examples of each of these elements of spectacle, can be viewed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uw59X2JKDsw>.

The first element is auditory, and focuses on the volume of the chanting and beating of their drums; the manipulation of volume is the defining characteristic of Bog music, rather than the control of melody or rhythm. The drumming juxtaposes soft and loud passages ranging from the gentle jingles of iron rings rattling on the *fashi's* drum handles, to the clamor of many drums beating simultaneously with full force. It features repeated crescendos of volume, punctuated by intensified percussive force, to highlight key moments. Similarly, the chanting traverses a wide volume range, from passages where the *fashi* holler, with red faces and bulging neck veins, to passages recited almost at a whisper.

The second element is visual and includes motion and color - the bright red costumes of the *fashi*, the display of multicolored paper banners around the temple courtyard, the long paper banners hung from the decorated pole in the courtyard center, and the graphic dynamism created, for example, by the *fashi* as they spin with skirts flaring, or toss their drum in the air, causing it to spin end over end.

A third element of the Bog spectacle relates to the *fashi's* embodied mastery of technique. The *fashi* must be able to cartwheel, hop, leap, spin, shake, contort, and bend, and, furthermore, to do

each and all of these for a long time. The more deftly these actions are performed, and the longer the duration of their performance, the more spectacular the performance is for both human and non-human guests.

The third and fourth elements of the production of spectacle relate to the organization of multiple performers in space. Coordination refers to the capacity of several *fashi* to do different things in order to create an intricate overall pattern, for example, by weaving among each other at high speed, while spinning, with such precision that their flared skirts overlap but their bodies never touch. Related is synchronization - the ability of several *fashi* to perform the same thing at the same time: to beat drums in complex, stochastic rhythms in taut unison or to advance and retreat simultaneously while fanned out in a line, without being able to see what the other *fashi* are doing, or for two *fashi* to suddenly burst out of a prolonged spin, facing each other, and immediately begin beating their drums together.

A final element that contributes to the spectacular nature of the Bog performances is humor, which typically emerges when any of the preceding elements goes awry, typically in the performance of younger and more inexperienced *fashi*. *Fashi* may also intentionally sabotage each other during the performance. The profusion of humor throughout the Bog highlights its fundamentally spectacular nature, and sets it off from more somber, solemn ritual forms, as do the presence of the other elements of spectacle: volume, color and motion, technical mastery, coordination, and synchronization.

The *fashi*'s repertoire consists of a number of short performances. During Bog, the first two dances are always the same: Worshipping the Sedans (Baijiao) and Walking Taiji (Zoutaiji).

- Worshipping the Sedans. All *fashi* stand in a row facing the sedaned dragon kings, holding their drums. They first walk forward three steps, and then backward three steps. They then walk forward three steps again, and bow to the dragon kings. They repeat these steps in the four directions in the order of north,

south, east, and west.

- Walking *Taiji*. The *fashi* beat their drums while walking in single file, led by the *wanshan*, in the pattern of a *taiji* 'ying-yang' symbol. They symbolically acknowledge all the assembled non-human guests at the four corners of the performance space by spinning their drums in their hand, and walking backwards several paces before turning their back on each corner.

Any of the following dances may be done in any order following these two performances. There is no fixed total number of dances that must be performed, but each dance is only performed once, and *fashi* typically perform for about four hours. In addition to the important steps detailed below, each dance also involves considerable improvisation.

- Lunshen 'Circling the Deities'. One *fashi* is randomly chosen and stands in the middle of the circle formed by the other *fashi*. The other *fashi* dance around him as he improvises a danced performance.
- Sanhuangwudi 'Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns'. The *wanshan* dances first. He beats his drum, and then kicks his left foot up and touches it to the palm of his outstretched left hand. He then kicks his right foot backward and touches the sole of his foot with his right hand. Each *fashi* performs the same moves after the *wanshan*.
- Xiaohongquan 'Martial Arts'. Two *fashi* engage in mock martial-arts combat. The other *fashi* follow in pairs, each staging a mock martial arts bout.
- Kongzhongquyu 'Taking Rain from the Air'. This is performed individually by each *fashi* in succession. Each *fashi* improvises briefly, and then throws his drum in the air above his head. As it slowly spins end-over-end, he quickly kneels. As the drum falls, he stands and catches it.
- Maqueyingshui 'Swallow Drinking Water'. This is performed by all *fashi*, in pairs. Each *fashi* places his drum on the ground and

then lays the drumstick across the drum. He next spreads his legs wide, leans forward with his hands behind his back, and attempts to pick up the drumstick with his teeth.

- Fenghuangsandiantou 'the Phoenix Nods Thrice'. This is performed by each *fashi* one by one. Each *fashi* stands on his right leg, his left leg stretches forward, and he then beats his drum thrice. He holds his left leg stretched out to the left, and beats his drum thrice again. Finally, he bends his left leg behind him, and beats his drum thrice again.
- Huangyingzhanchi 'The Yellow Warbler Spreads its Wings'. This is performed by each *fashi* individually. He hops on one leg while beating his drum, occasionally spreading his arms.
- Limazhuang 'Hitching Post', involves each *fashi* placing his drum on the ground and attempting to do a headstand on it while others beat their drums.
- Zuochuyouru 'Exit on the Left and Enter from the Right' involves each *fashi* doing a cartwheel over his drum, which he places on the ground, and then picks up in the course of the cartwheel.

The final dance is always a second performance of Walking Taiji, but this time performed in the opposite direction from that in which it was first performed.

The human audience shrinks and swells over the duration of the performances. People chat while watching the dances, and laugh at humorous moments. No other overt signs of appreciation are made.

After several hours of performing, the *fashi* rest.

The Third Day Continues

The *fashi* perform Yinwudao 'Receiving The God of the Five Roads'. The temple caretaker's head is again bound with red cloth and a model bow and arrow is put on his back. He holds a wooden box filled with wheat seeds in which a colorful paper flag has been inserted.

Then the temple caretaker, all *fashi*, and the sedaned dragon kings leave the temple, followed by the green crops officers, some village men, and five boys, each holding a small paper flag. They go to the four outer corners of the temple and invite the gods of the five roads to join the festivities. In each of the corners a rooster is killed by breaking its neck, thus giving the rooster to the gods of the five roads.

In addition, the main *fashi* makes a divination in each of the corners of the temple, to determine from which direction disasters, such as flood, drought, hailstones, or frost will come from during the coming year. If the divination reveals that a disaster will come from a given direction within the year, the *fashi* immediately suppresses the calamity, using an upturned black bowl and a wooden stake which has efficacious texts painted in ink.³⁹ The *wanshan* cuts his forearm, mixes his blood with the rooster's blood, chants, and buries the stake in the ground and covers it with the black bowl. A small paper flag is inserted in the ground above the bowl. This concludes the rite and disasters are thus avoided.

The rite is finished at around supper time, at dusk. After supper, the sedan-worshipping rite is performed. During this rite, villagers increase their fortunes by making prostrations and lighting butter lamps together. The *fashi* make seven lamps with the wheat flour dough. Some villagers also bring their own wheat dough lamps. They then put their lamps with those made by the *fashi* together in the upper courtyard in front of the main hall. Normally, a big lidless wooden box is set upside down on the ground, and two successively smaller boxes are upturned atop the large box. An upturned black bowl is placed atop the smallest box. Lamps are then placed atop the bowl and boxes, with the villagers' and *fashi*'s lamps mixed together. The *fashi* chant and beat drums while villagers kowtow until the lamps burn out. The chanting during this rite includes offering incense to the deities and the "Scripture of the Three Religions." The sedan-worshipping rite takes about an hour.

Afterwards, the *wanshan* teaches scriptures - the process is

³⁹ The *fashi* claim to know the texts but cannot tell others.

called *jiangjing* - to his apprentices, inside the main hall of the temple. He asks his students questions, which the apprentices answer. If they cannot answer, then the *wanshan* explains the answers. The questions are mostly related to the scriptures of Shenjiao, however, additional topics may cover anything from the creation of the earth to contemporary political policies.

At around midnight, villagers take down the pole and all the paper is removed, piled up in the temple courtyard, and burned. Meanwhile, the *fashi* chant. The main content of the chanting is to offer the burned papers to the deities, and to beseech them for a bumper harvest, and general peace and prosperity.

After the pole is taken down, the *fashi* see off all invited souls by beating drums and chanting scriptures, while villagers burn yellow papers outside the temple. The main content is (Ma Ankui):

Seeing souls off! Seeing souls off. Please walk out from the temple gate. Guardian of the temple, please ask all the souls to walk out the front gate. All souls, please travel well on your return trip. See you again next year at this time.

The day's ritual is then concluded, and everyone retires for the night.

The Fourth Day

At about eight o'clock in the morning, the *fashi* beat drums and chant scriptures while villagers make prostrations in order to see off all the gods. The *fashi* call the name of each deity, thank them for coming to the ritual, and express the hope that they will meet again at next year's ritual. Bog is thus concluded.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have described the Bog ritual, an annual temple ritual held in Mongghul communities on the northeast Tibetan Plateau. Prior to describing the ritual, we introduced our fieldsite, Yomajaa Village, and also introduced the main ritual practitioner in the Bog, the *fashi*, focusing particularly on Ma Ankui, the *wanshan*, or leader of the local *fashi* troupe. We described the three days of the ritual, giving particular attention to the second night, when spirits are captured to enliven the deities, and also to the dances performed on the third day of the Bog. In describing these performances, we concentrated on how the elements of volume, motion and color, embodied technique, coordination and synchronization, and humor are combined to create a sense of spectacle. The spectacular nature of these performances, in turns, highlights the nature of the Bog as an essentially *social* event, including human and non-human participants.

We hope that this article will inspire further research on the diverse ritual cultures of the area, and particularly into their social and spectacular nature. Meanwhile, we also encourage continuing research on the Mongghul and their traditions, many of which remain undocumented.

APPENDIX ONE: SCHEDULE OF BOG PERFORMANCES IN HUZHU COUNTY

Village	Location	Main Date	Invited <i>Fashi</i>
Yomajaa	Donggou Township	The third day of the third lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Shgeayili	Donggou Township	The second day of the second lunar month	Xinyuanbu Village, Tangchuan Town (local Han Chinese).
Shdangja	Danma Town	The eighth day of the twelfth lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Slidii	Danma Town	The thirteenth day of the third lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Xanjang Village, Danma Town; Qalighuali Village, Dongshan Township and the swine <i>bogs</i> from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Sughuangghuali	Danma Town	The eighteenth day of the third lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Qalighuali Village, Dongshan Township and the swine <i>fashi</i> are from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Qalighuali	Dongshan Township	The eighth day of the second lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from their own village.
Qighaan Dawa	Dongshan	The eighth	The swine <i>fashi</i> from

	Township	day of the second lunar month	Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.
Shgeayili	Dongshan Township	The fifth day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Jija Nuri	Dongshan Township	The eighteenth day of the fourth lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from Tanzi Village, Dongshan Township.
Tanzi	Dongshan Township	The fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month	The <i>fashi</i> are from their own village.
Halija	Dongshan Township	The third day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Liuja	Wushi Town	The second day of the second lunar month.	Xanjang Village, Danma Town.
Naja	Weiyuan Town	The third day of the third lunar month	Liangzhouying Village, Weiyuan Town.
Jangma	Weiyuan Town	The third day of the third lunar month	There are no fixed <i>fashi</i> .
Liangzhouying	Weiyuan Town	The eighth day of the fourth lunar month	The swine <i>fashi</i> are from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Chinese characters are provided for words that are identifiably Chinese. Tibetan script is also provided for words of Tibetan origin. Other terms are Mongghul.

Baijiao 拜娇

Bangbang 榔榔

Bog

Chilebsang

Chinjaa (Chenjia 陈家) Hamlet

chubing shoubing 出兵收兵

Danma 丹麻 Town

Donggou 东沟 Township

fan 幡

fashi 法师

Fenghuang sandiantou 凤凰三点头

guangnii གླུ་གྲོ་མཚོ།

guwa གུ་བ་།

Halija (Xialijia 下李家) Village

Han 汉

Heihuye 黑虎爷

hgai bog

Huangying zhanchi 黄莺展翅

Huuwan (Hewan 河湾) Hamlet

Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County, Huzhu tuzu zizhixian 互助土族自治县

Jangma (Yatou 崖头) Village

jiangjing 讲经

Jija Nuri (Jijialing 吉家岭) Village

Jiutian shengmu 九天圣母

kadog (kha btags ཁ་བཏག་པ་།)

Kongzhongquyu 空中取雨

lasizi

lazii (*lab rtse* ལ་བ་རྩེ།)

Liangdan 粮蛋
Liangzhouying 凉州营 Village
Limazhuang 立马桩
Limusishiden
Liuja 柳家 Village
longwang 龙王
Lunshen 轮神
Ma Ankui 马安奎
Majaa (Majia 马家) Hamlet
Mazuye 马祖爷
Maque yinshui 麻雀饮水
Mawangdian 马王殿
Mongghul
Mula Bog
muyiu (*miao* 庙)
Naja (Najia 纳家) Village
Nanjing 南京
nantianmen 南天门
Nengneng (Niangniang 娘娘)
Qalighuali (Chaergou 岔儿沟) Village
Qighaan Dawa (Baiyahe 白崖合) Village
Qingshenjing 请神经
Qinghai 青海 Province
Qinghai University Attached Hospital 青海大学附属医院
Rgulang རྒྱལ་ལང་།
Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝
Sanjiaojing 三教经
Shdangja (Dongjia 东家) Village
shenjiao 神教
Shgeayili (Dazhuang 大庄) Village
Slidii (Songde 松德) Village
Sughuangghuali (Suobugou 索卜沟) Village
taiji 太极
Tangchuan 塘川 Town
tangka (thang ka ཐང་ཀ་)

Tanzi 滩子 Village

Tingere

tiruuqi

Tu 土

wanshan

Weiyuan 威远 Town

Wushi 五十 Town

Xanjang (Shancheng 山城) Village

Xiaohongquan 小红拳

Xinyuanbu (Xinyuan 新元) Village

Xishen Niangniang 喜神娘娘

xishenqi 喜神旗

Xnjiri Rjawuu (gshin rje rgyal po གཤིན་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་)

Yinwudao 引五道

Yojaa (Yaojia 姚家) Hamlet

Yomajaa (Yaomajia 姚麻家) Village

zao 枣

Zoutaiji 走太极

Zuochuyouru 左出右入